

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WADSHDC IMMEDIATE 9361
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUDAPEST 3099

BELGRADE FOR CSCE DELEGATION

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SCUL, SHIM, HU, US
SUBJECT: BILLY GRAHAM VISIT - WRAPUP

REF: BUDAPEST 3023

1. VISIT OF DR GRAHAM TO HUNGARY HAS EXCEEDED HIS EXPECTA-
TIONS AND FROM EMBASSY'S POINT OF VIEW HAS BEEN HIGHLY
VALUABLE EVENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS. IT BROADENS AN
IMPORTANT RELIGIOUS CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE
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U.S. AND HUNGARY. IT IS POSSIBLE FORERUNNER OF OTHER
VISITS, CONTACTS, AND EXPANDED RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS,
INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY POSSIBLE GILLY GRAHAM VISITS TO
GDR AND FURTHER DOWN THE ROAD THE SOVIET UNION.

WHILE IN THE PROVINCES LAST WEEK, DR GRAHAM CON-
TINUED TO SPEAK TO CAPACITY AUDIENCES LIMITED ONLY BY
SMALL SIZE OF CHURCHES WHERE HE SPOKE. HE CONTINUED

GENERATE SENSE OF RELIGIOUS FERVOR. BACK IN BUDAPEST, HE MET WITH TOP LEADERS ALL RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES, WHO WERE FAVORABLY IMPRESSED, PROMOTING GENUINE ECUMENICAL ATTITUDE AMONG THEM. A LENGTHY MEETING WITH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER GYORGY ACZEL, DURING WHICH TOPIC OF CROWN WAS RAISED, WAS ALSO INDICATIVE OF FAVORABLE IMPACT BILLY GRAHAM HAS HAD HERE. RECEPTION GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR SEP 8, WAS ALSO SUCCESS AND NOT ONLY HELPED DR GRAHAM COMMUNICATE MORE FULLY WITH HUNGARIANS BUT ESTABLISHED FRUITFUL NEW CONTACTS FOR AMBASSADOR AND EMBASSY. TOWARDS END OF VISIT AMBASSADOR MANAGED TO DISSUADE PRESIDENT OF COUNCIL OF FREE CHURCHES (CFC) DR SANDOR PALOTAY, FROM INJECTING TOO OVERTLY PROPAGANDISTIC MATERIAL INTO HIS SUMMATION OF RESULTS OF GRAHAM VISIT, A SUMMATION HE HAD ORIGINALLY INTENDED TO HAVE DR GRAHAM TRANSMIT TO THE WHITE HOUSE. GOODBYES WERE SAID AT THE AIRPORT SEPT 10, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT, CORDIALITY AND PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

2. VISIT TO PROVINCES. AFTER SUCCESSES IN RELIGIOUS MEETINGS IN THE BUDAPEST AREA SUNDAY, SEP 4 (SEE REFTEL), BILLY GRAHAM AND HIS TEAM PROCEEDED TO THE PROVINCES WHERE HE DELIVERED SERMONS IN DEBRECEN AND PECS, AND SPOKE AT THE JOINT OPENING OF COUNCIL OF FREE CHURCHES' AND BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES. CONFIDENTIAL

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HIS MESSAGE WAS BASICALLY THE SAME AS THE ONE DELIVERED IN TAHI AND BUDAPEST SEP 4, AND REPORTED REFTEL. EVERYWHERE HE SPOKE WAS JAMMED WITH PEOPLE AND THE CHURCHES WHERE HE SEVERAL OTHER MEMBERS OF THE TEAM SPOKE WERE ALSO FULL. UNFORTUNATELY, THE CHURCHES HE SPOKE IN WERE, AS THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT PREFERRED, SMALL. EVEN SO BILLY GRAHAM'S IMPACT WAS CONSIDERABLE. HIS MESSAGE IS DESTINED TO BE SPREAD BY WORD OF MOUTH AND BY THE TAPE RECORDINGS MADE BY HUNDREDS OF CHURCHGOERS WHO HEARD HIM.

3. EXCHANGES WITH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY. IN ADDITION TO HIS SERMONS, DR GRAHAM MET WITH BISHOP HOSEPH CSERHATI IN PECS AND WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN BUDAPEST AND HAD MANY CONTACTS WITH BISHOP BARTHA OF THE REFORMED (PRESBYTERIAN) CHURCH AND BISHOP KALDY OF THE EVANGELICAL (LUTHERAN) CHURCH. HE MET WITH HUNGARIAN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, AND ECUMENISM BECAME A SUB-THEME OF HIS VISIT. BILLY GRAHAM HAD A HIGHLY FAVORABLE IMPACT UPON ALL MEMBERS OF THE HUNGARIAN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY.

4. ACZEL MEETING. ON SEP 8, DR GRAHAM MET WITH
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER GYORGY ACZEL FOR ONE AND A HALF
HOURS. PRESENT AT THE MEETING WERE IMRE MIKLOS, PRESI-
DENT OF THE STATE OFFICE OF CHURCH AFFAIRS, AND DR.
PALOTAY. ACZEL IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED THE CULTURAL
CZAR IN HUNGARY AND IS ONE OF THE MORE INFLUENTIAL MEM-
BERS OF THE HSWP POLITBURO. ACZEL WAS WELL-BRIEFED ON
DR GRAHAM. HE KNEW THE HISTORY OF DE GRAHAM'S MINISTRY,
DETAILS OF HIS PROGRAM IN HUNGARY AND WAS EVEN AWARE OF
THE YEAR AND MONTH WHEN DR GRAHAM WAS BORN. HE UNDOUBT-
EDLY WAS ALSO AWARE OF THE GREETING DE GRAHAM
DELIVERED TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE ON PRES CARTER'S
BEHALF. THIS PERHAPS EXPLAINS THE CORDIALITY AND LENGTH OF
THE MEETING WITH DR GRAHAM. IT ALSO GIVE ADDED SIGNIFI-
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CANCE TO ACZEL'S RAISING OF THE CROWN ISSUE DURING THE
MEETING. ACZEL EXPLAINED HUNGARIAN VIEWS ON CROWN,
REITERATED HUNGARIAN PATIENCE AND MADE A MODERATE BUT
STRONG PLEA FOR ITS RETURN. HE ALSO RAISED THE QUES-
TION ON EXTENSION OF MFN TO HUNGARY. REST OF EXCHANGE
CENTERED ON A CORDIAL DISCUSSION OF
RELIGION IN HUNGARY AND ON THE EVOLUTION OF STATE
POLICY TOWARDS CHURCHES HERE. ACZEL ADMITTED THERE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BUDAPEST 3099

BELGRADE FOR CSCE DELEGATION

E.O. 11652: GDS

HAD BEEN MISTAKES IN THE PAST BUT THE STATE WAS TRYING TO RECTIFY THEM NOW. DR GRAHAM ACKNOWLEDGED HE HAD CHANGED HIS VIEWS ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES SINCE HIS EARLY MINISTRY. TOPICS OF BRIDGE BUILDING AND HUNGARIAN CHURCH LIFE WERE ALSO REVIEWED DURING THE MEETING.

5. AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION. RECEPTION GIVEN SEP 8 BY
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AMBASSADOR WAS CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS. DR GRAHAM CIRCULATED FREELY AMONG RELIGIOUS LEADERS HE HAD ALREADY MET AND MET ADDITIONAL FIGURES FROM GOVERNMENT, PRESS AND DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY. EMBASSY PROFITED FROM GREATEST EXPOSURE TO RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY IN LONG TIME AND AMBASSADOR ESTABLISHED MANY IMPORTANT PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS BY MEANS OF RECEPTION AND OTHER CONTACTS WITH HUNGARIAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS THIS WEEK. HUNGARIAN ATTENDANCE WAS HIGH AMONG CHURCH LEADERS, OFFICIALS, AND PRESS. AT END OF RECEPTION, GUESTS WERE TREATED TO A BRIEF CONCERT BY REVEREND ARCHIE DENIS, A TALENTED SINGER WHO CAME WITH THE GRAHAM TEAM. IMRE MIKLOS ATTENDED ALONG WITH BISHOPS CSERHATI, KALDY, BARTHA, OTTLYK (LUTHERAN), VARKONYI (CATHOLIC) AND CHIEF RABBI FROM THE JEWISH COMMUNITY. MOST STAYED THE FULL TWO HOURS. JANOS BARTHA WAS RANKING OFFICIAL FROM FOREIGN MINISTRY PRESENT.

6. PRESS CONFERENCE. THE DAY BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FROM HUNGARY BILLY GRAHAM HELD A SCHEDULED PRESS CONFERENCE IN BUDAPEST. APPROXIMATELY 60 PERSONS ATTENDED FROM HUNGARIAN LOCAL MEDIA, BOTH SECULAR AND CHURCH CONNECTED, AS WELL AS THE FOREIGN PRESS CONTINGENT WHICH COVERED THE VISIT. IN ADDITION TO U.S. WIRE

SERVICES, VOA, CBS AND ABC WERE PRESENT.

THE SESSION WAS OPENED BY SANDOR PALOTAY, PRESIDENT OF THE HUNGARIAN COUNCIL OF FREE CHURCHES. IN HIS REMARKS HE SAID THAT THE GRAHAM VISIT SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS PREPARATORY FOR BELGRADE, BUT RATHER THAT IT CONSTITUTED IMPLEMENTATION IN THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI. PALOTAY WAS FOLLOWED BY GRAHAM, WHO ALSO MADE AN OPENING STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT THERE WERE FIVE REASONS WHY HE CAME TO HUNGARY. 1) HE CAME TO PREACH
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THE GOSPEL, 2) HE WANTED TO MEET CHURCH LEADERS. 3) HE WANTED TO SEE HOW THE CHURCH EXISTS IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY. 4) HE WANTED TO GET A PERSPECTIVE ON LIFE IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY. 5) HE WANTED TO BUILD BRIDGES BETWEEN PEOPLE. HE THEN SAID THAT ALL ABOVE HAVE BEEN REALIZED.

THE QUESTIONS CENTERED ON GRAHAM'S RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS, BUT ALSO INCLUDED SOME OTHER TOPICS. HE WAS ASKED IF HE COULD SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THE RETURN OF THE HUNGARIAN CROWN, AND REPLIED THAT HE KNEW IT WAS KEPT IN FORT KNOX, THAT HE DISCUSSED THE CROWN WHILE HERE, AND WILL DISCUSS IT IN THE UNITED STATES. WHEN ASKED HOW HE FELT ABOUT THE RETURN OF THE CROWN HE DECLINED TO ANSWER. ANOTHER QUESTION PERTAINED TO GRAHAM'S POSSIBLE FUTURE PLANS TO VISIT OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IN EUROPE. HE REPLIED THAT THERE WERE NO DEFINITE PLANS AND THAT IF HE WERE TO RECEIVE INVITATIONS FROM THOSE WHO HAVE DISCUSSED IT WITH HIM, HE WILL MOST LIKELY ACCEPT THEM. ANOTHER QUESTION, PROBABLY PLANTED, ON THE NEUTRON BOMB WAS DEFLECTED BY GRAHAM. HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THE FINAL DECISION HAD NOT BEEN TAKEN ON THE BOMB AND THAT HE, GRAHAM, WAS FOR DISARMAMENT, BUT NOT UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT. AS OF TODAY NO REPORTING OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE HAS APPEARED IN THE HUNGARIAN PRESS. (PRESS COVERAGE OF THE VISIT REPORTED SEPTEL.)

7. FURTHER VISITS TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. FOLLOWING INFORMATION PROVIDED BY GRAHAM TEAM SHOULD BE CLOSELY HELD. ACCORDING TO TEAM, IMRE MIKLOS AND SANDOR PALOTAY HAVE ALREADY BEEN WORKING CLOSELY TOGETHER TO BRING ABOUT FULLY GRAHAM VISIT TO EAST GERMANY. PROBABLY SINCE GDR IS TOUGHEST NUT TO CRACK OUTSIDE OF USSR, IT IS LOGICAL NEXT CANDIDATE. EMBASSY IS INFORMED THAT GDR GOVERNMENT APPROVAL IN PRINCIPLE HAS ALREADY BEEN OBTAINED FOR A GRAHAM VISIT. IT
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REMAINS ONLY TO BTAIN THE APPROVAL OF THE EAST GERMAN CHURCHES, SOMETHING WHICH THE HUNGARIANS REGARD AS A NOT NECESSARILY EASY TASK FOR REASONS HAVING TO DO WITH THE ATTITUDE OF THOSE CHURCHES TOWARDS EVANGELICISM. IF TRUE, AS IT PROBABLY IS, IT IS INSTRUCTIVE TO NOTE PALOTAY AND MIKLOS WORKING AS TEAM ON THIS MATTER. VISIT TO SOVIETS WOULD BE LOGICAL FOLLOW-ON TO EAST GERMAN VISIT. BISHOP KALDY TOLD EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER AND DR GRAHAM AT RECEPTION THAT HE WAS CONVINCED GRAHAM VISIT HAD GONE SO WELL IN HUNGARY THAT DR GRAHAM WOULD BE WELCOME IN THE SOVIET UNION. HE SAID HE BASED HIS OPINION ON HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCE IN THE SOVIET UNION WHICH HE HAS OFTEN VISITED AND WHERE HE HAS OFTEN PREACHED.

8. A CONTRETEMPS AVERTED. DR. PALOTAY IS NOT AN ORDAINED MINISTER. WHILE RELIGIOUS HE IS MORE A CHURCH ADMINISTRATOR AND INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND INDIVIDUAL FREE CHURCHES. AS SUCH HE HAS BEEN STRESSING POLITICAL BRIDGE-BUILDING AND PROMOTION OF UNDERSTANDING ASPECTS OF DR GRAHAM'S VISIT AND TRYING TO PUT A COMPLEXION ON IT WHICH WILL BE MOST SATISFYING TO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BUDAPEST 3099

BELGRADE FOR CSCE DELEGATION

E.O. 11652: GDS

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT. HE WENT TOO FAR AT THE CLOSING CEREMONIES THE EVENING OF SEP 9, WHEN HE DISCLOSED TO GONGREGATION CONTENTS OF OPEN LETTER HE WAS PLANNING TO SEND TO PRES CARTER ON BEHALF OF THE COUNCIL OF FREE CHURCHES IN RESPONSE TO THE GREETING BILLY GRAHAM HAD BROUGHT FROM THE PRESIDENT. THE LETTER FAVORABLY SUMMARIZED DR GRAHAM'S VISIT AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS FOR HUNGARY. IN THE GUISE OF CONVEYING
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HUNGARIAN CHURCH SENTIMENT TO THE PRESIDENT, IT RAISED A POLITICAL ISSUE OR TWO WHICH WAS BEST LEFT UNDISCUSSED AND COULD ONLY DETRACT FROM THE POSITIVE RELIGIOUS ATMOSPHERE CREATED BY DR GRAHAM'S VISIT. AT THE BEHEST OF THE AMBASSADOR, FULLY SUPPORTED BY DR GRAHAM, PALOTAY SUBSEQUENTLY AGREED TO REDRAFT HIS LETTER OMITTING REFERENCE TO ANY PROPAGANDA OR POLITICAL QUESTIONS AND MOREOVER TO ADDRESS IT TO DR GRAHAM RATHER THAN TO THE PRESIDENT. IT IS TO BE USED EOLEY AS DR GRAHAM SEES FIT. THE EMBASSY HOPES THAT JOINT ACTION BY DR GRAHAM, THE AMBASSADOR AND DR PALOTAY WILL HAVE AVERTED ANY PUBLICITY BEING GIVEN TO DR PALOTAY'S ABORTIVE OPEN LETTER OR ITS PROPAGANDA ELEMENT, PRINCIPALLY REFERENCES TO HUNGARIAN SENTIMENT AGAINST THE NEUTRON BOMB.

9. COMMENT: IN SPITE OF PALOTAY'S TENDENCY TO SLIDE FROM ORATORY PRAISING BRIDGE-BUILDING INTO PROPANGANDA IN SUPPORT OF HUNGARY'S SECULAR AUTHORITIES, IT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT HE INITIATED THE INVITATION TO BILLY GRAHAM TO COME TO HUNGARY FIVE YEARS AGO AND HAS SEEN IT THROUGH TO A MOST SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. BILLY GRAHAM HAS SAID IN PRIVATE WHAT HE SAID IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE: THAT HE HAD REALIZED ALL HIS OBJECTIVES IN COMING TO HUNGARY. HE ADDED TO THE AMBASSADOR THE VISIT EXCEEDED HIS EXPECTATIONS. THE EMBASSY TOO,

REGARDS IT AS A GREAT SUCCESS FOR INTER-RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS, FOR OPENING FURTHER STILL ANOTHER CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND HUNGARY AND AS A POSSIBLE FORERUNNER OF OTHER VISITS, CONTACTS, AND EXPANDED RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS YET TO COME.
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